people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho,* Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki:* "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki:*

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*Jomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim,* swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha.*"

As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

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was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enobetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedōri* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."[45] The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.[46] As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new-fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

[45] *Tōyūki*.

[46] For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattan no Nukigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

each *Basho*. Sometimes they were held as an annual event at the beginning of the year following the traditional custom of *Omusha* and sometimes on such occasions as the arrival of officials on tours of inspection.

The *Omusha* was the most important of the annual events. It has been discussed in Part Two, Chap. IV, Sect. 1. Beginning as a ceremony of primarily economic significance, it became an occasion for the Matsumae to give presents and at the same time issue regulations and it became an integral part of the government of natives. In this period it became even more important. It was held annually in August and its intent was, as in the case of *Ekkenrei*, to win the respect of the Ezo. At the *Omusha* the officials, in a dignified manner, talked to the Ezo and gave them abundant gifts. During this occasion a number of other matters were taken care of. (1) The appointment and dismissal of Ezo with titles (*Go Ezo*). (2) The awarding of special wages and gifts to Ezo with titles. (3) The rewarding of dutiful sons and daughters and those people of good conduct. (4) The presentation of gifts to widowers, persons without families or relatives and to the old. (5) The reading of laws and regulations. The Ezo were then treated to food and sake by the *Kaishō* and the *Unjōya*. The laws differed according to the *Basho* but they are set down in greater detail than the regulations of previous periods and they covered not only public but private affairs which the authorities considered ought to be regulated. The law of the Etorofu *Basho* is quoted below.

1. Laws previously promulgated shall be strictly observed.

2. The Shogunate shall be respected; parents will be treated with care and husband and wife and brother and sister shall live in peace. Honesty shall come first in all matters.

3. All shall live on good terms without quarrels, fights, or other disputes. It is absolutely forbidden to scheme to obtain compensation. (*Tsugunai*.) Supplement: Anyone spreading false rumors is to be taken to the *Kaishō*. No arguments, quarrels, or other unfavorable incidents have been reported in the past and it is to be hoped that such strict control will be maintained. Anyone who does not willingly observe the regulations will be reported. Have nothing to do with those who violate the law but report them to the manager for judgment.

4. It is unlawful for persons to gather in large numbers to discuss unrighteous matters, regardless of their nature. This is absolutely forbidden. Anyone who without delay reports those with evil intentions shall be rewarded with gifts and his offense pardoned if he was a conspirator.

5. Persons arriving from abroad or from islands further away than Uruppu are not to be permitted to land but are to be ordered back. Such incidents are to be reported to the *Kaishō* whether by day or by night.

6. Needless to say, a report is to be made immediately if a Russian vessel is sighted and each person is then to report to the *Kaishō* with his bow and arrows.

Supplement: In the event of a foreign invasion all males between fifteen and sixty will at once leave their tasks to the women and the old and report with their weapons to

the *Kaishō*. Places for the evacuation of the children and the old are to be prepared beforehand so that no one may be taken prisoner and to eliminate any confusion.

7. In the past rice, tobacco, and sake have been brought in small amounts from Akkeshi *Basho* for trade. But ever since the Shogunate started to develop this area the people here have been diligent and the Shogunate has been generous enough to provide them with rice, sake, and tobacco in abundant amounts, as well as other necessities. The reason that many Japanese officials are stationed here is to protect this island from foreign countries and to educate the people. Appreciation is expected for these considerations and the people should work hard as ever under the direction of the contractor, manager, and guards. In comparison to the difficulties encountered in the past by the people of this island the fact that everyone now lives in abundance and without fear should be greatly appreciated and the benevolence of the Shogunate conveyed to posterity.

8. Naturally those engaged in fishing should labor diligently under the contractor, manager, and guards and preparations made for lean years by storing food in spare time.

9. Eagle tails shall be prepared, in winter, as has been done in the past and taken to the *Kaishō* when the *Otona* goes there for the New Year's greetings. Any other articles obtained shall first be inspected at the guardhouse after which they shall be presented to the *Kaishō* by the *Otona* when he calls on business.

Supplement: Since barter in furs and skins is prohibited to the guards, the *Otona* will inform all villages not to violate this prohibition.

10. As old customs are being revised, one should make one's language follow that of the guards.

11. Recently people with disheveled hair have been noticed. Everyone is on notice to dress his hair.

12. When young men reach a certain age, they shall take a wife. It is forbidden, even for *Otona*, to have many mistresses.

13. Since doctors are available, those falling ill shall immediately report to the *Kaishō* for treatment. Furthermore, it is the duty of *Otona* and *Kozukai* to see that all unfortunates, including the sick, the old without family, and the blind, are well taken care of and such cases, reported to the *Kaishō* will be taken care of by the Shogunate via the *Kaishō*.

14. If anyone, contractors, managers, guards, and even subjects at the guardhouse, acts in an unreasonable or unjust manner, such action is to be reported immediately and, in case there are matters which it is preferred not to report to the manager, they are to be reported directly to the guard posts through any villager capable of interpreting. Any other business which requires either immediate notice or privacy of handling may also be reported to the guard post as above.

15. All villagers are to maintain a coastal watch and report any unusual incident to the *Kaishō*. Such watch shall, from time to time, be conducted at night.

16. In accord with previous instructions no camp or other type of fire is permitted near *Kaishō* or guardhouses in the mountains. The *Otona* is to relay this order to all his people.

The regulations and instructions mentioned above are to be strictly observed and their meaning conveyed to all people.[1]

It should be noted that the significance of *Omusha* changes from that of the previous period. Previously

[1] *Ezo Fūzoku Ison* 2: 1.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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the central character had been the *Basho* contractor. Now *Omusha* is taken over as a Shogunal ceremony and its connection with contractors becomes slight. This tendency is most conspicuous in East Ezo where direct trade was carried out. For another thing, in previous times *Omusha* had marked the grand closing of the fishing season whereas this now diminishes in importance and the settlement of the seasonal fishing accounts is conducted separately from *Omusha*. In addition a ceremony quite similar to *Omusha* was beginning to be held when officials arrived on inspection tours. That is, instructions were read to the natives, gifts presented to those with titles, those who worked hard, those with good conduct records, aged widowers, those without relatives, the ill, and those in need. This ceremony was carried out with great regularity after the Russian incursions of 1806–1807.[8] Ceremonies carried out during inspection trips made by magistrates or inspectors or by *Basho* officials were of a similar nature although on a much smaller scale.[9]

2. RELIEF MEASURES AND POLICY

While various means of appeasement were utilized by the Japanese government, the random giving of gifts was avoided as much as possible. An extreme example of this policy, which was decried by Mogami Tokunai, is cited below:

> The opinion of officials is that it is better to control the people by setting up laws, even if there are complaints about the law, than to give away goods to make them happy, since the latter method can scarcely be expected to last very long. This sounds like a reasonable opinion but it is a mistaken one. The enactment of laws despite the practical situation of the people is applicable only to the farmers of Japan. This same method when applied to the Ezo who are yet to be considered as good as other people might well be called "Blind Administration by Power" as is stated in the Canon of History. People coerced into submission by stringent national laws can hardly be called "treasures of the nation."[10]

However, the Bakufu did not hesitate to aid the poor, the needy, and the widowed. The following article which was to be read as part of the *Omusha Moshi Kikasesho* [Instructions to be read at Omusha] on Etorofu Island was probably actually carried out:

> *Otona* and *Kozukai* shall see to it that the blind and crippled, the old and homeless are well taken care of. These people shall also be reported to the *Kaishō* where appropriate aid will be given.

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[8] Hotta Settsu no kami e Rōjū kakitori (Letter from the Shogunal Council to Lord Hotta of Settsu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1216.

[9] Examples can be found in the *Heishin Jōtetsu* taken from the visits made by Lord Kawajiri of Higo in 1808 and by Lord Arao of Tajima. *Edo Sōsho* [Collection of materials on Edo] 11: 287–289.

[10] Mogami Tokunai, *Ezo Sōshi* 2. Section on "Matters disliked by the Ezo."

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CHAPTER XV

ABOUT MASCOTS

When writing about "That Wicked Missionary" a good Japanese friend sent me a sort of mascot, concerning which I wish to say a few words. I am not fully sure that the term "mascot" quite fits the object, but anyway it will serve my purpose here as well as "talisman," "charm" or what not.

During the late World War and ever since one has heard much of mascots. They are now in vogue everywhere in Europe and appear to have come there to stay. I believe they are kept "for luck," and bespeak a certain amount of superstition. At least, such is the impression I have got about them. I am assured that the Ainu also have had mascots of various kinds from time immemorial, and what we find them using today are but fetishes or relics of the same.

As these people sit at their feasts or when they perform any function or ceremony of importance, the men may be seen wearing crowns of two kinds. Those the younger of them wear are called *inaru*, i.e. "filament fetish," and those the more important men don are called *ekashpa-umbe*, i.e. "things crowning the elders." They are all made of long shavings and strips of bark and cloth. But on the front of those the elders wear are to be seen carved images of such things as bears, wolves, foxes, kites, eagles, jays, sparrows and other creatures, while on their moustache-lifters, which they use to hold their moustaches out of whatever they may be drinking, are to be found representations of various marine animals and fishes. These

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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777 527 293 may possible have been originally clan or totemistic signs.

264 782 777 Among the Ainu all the objects so represented are first worshipped and then killed and eaten. Some of the flesh is eaten raw and the warm blood drunk. There seems to be some special virtue attached to drinking a little of the blood, which is caught in a vessel when the animal or bird is killed at the feast. Indeed, so much is thought of this that whenever the Ainu send me by post, as they sometimes do, a portion of bruin's flesh after he has been sacrificed, some of the blood is invariably sprinkled on the inside wrapping. The meat is always nicely wrapped up in sacred fetish shavings as well. No doubt the flesh is good but I can never bring myself to touch it. I thank them for their kind thought.

In my very early days here it was no uncommon thing for me to see such living creatures as I have mentioned, even poor little sparrows, kept in cages to be used in sacrifice at the proper season. By eating such, the peculiar powers and special virtues of each were supposed to pass into the communicant. To keep one of these in a cage was to be sure of great good luck, only the creature must be very carefully attended to or evil would, it was supposed, befall its owner.

766 782 On a certain occasion it was necessary for me to pass through a village where there was a great and mighty wailing for the dead going on, accompanied by a noisy bacchanalian feast. The whole village was mourning and many had come in from miles around to assist, each bringing dumplings or *saké*. "What is the matter?" I asked. "Oh, the little cub has died," was the reply. It was a death feast, for the "dear little mighty one" had died. Its flesh was not to be eaten as it would have been had it been properly killed, but its head would be set up on high at the fetish place as a relic to be gazed upon and worshipped. A very elaborate funeral was being given it. Its spirit must be thus mollified

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When a couple are newly married, the first thing the man does is to make a knife-sheath which he gives to the woman; and the wife works a head-dress, as it is called, and presents it to her husband. It is a very good thing to follow this custom. For the old men say that husbands and wives ought to do so. And so I have made a sheath, which I present to you, sir. I have now told you in writing why the knife-sheath should be in one's possession.

That is all, and in it we have another link with and echo from the past.

It should not be thought from this, however, that I was actually to kill the quarry with this little knife. Rather, I was given to understand that the special virtues and powers believed to be inherent in it would be transferred to my person when out hunting, if I would carry it.

I suppose I ought to consider myself fortunate to have received two such charms. Though I have no faith in them or any such things, I am very thankful to have the good will and best wishes they imply of my two good friends, one Japanese and the other Ainu.

When writing about my Kite Mascot I referred to a great and solemn mourning I witnessed for a little bear cub which had unfortunately died while being brought up for a festival in a certain village. Many years before this happened, I received a short prayer from an Ainu hunter which he said was used by some people when praying to cubs at the time of being sacrificed. This prayer is so unexpectedly peculiar that I now write a translation of it. (There is really nothing new under the sun, psychically speaking, for I find ideas about the dense material and the astral bodies believed in by modern theosophists, who suppose the discarnate spirits of man and beast to live in the astral world. There they appear as the real beings, while we on the earth are but shadows.) In order that the prayer may be the better understood, I have divid-

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527 774 ed it into sections and commented on each where I considered it best to do so.

"O my very own dear little bear cub, pay great attention to me. The honoured ones who reared thee, the honoured grandmother, too, set before thee much [188] wine and many fetishes, dumplings and precious treasures."

[The honoured ones here mentioned are those who brought the animal up. The honoured grandmother is the woman who, in common with her own children, suckled the cub when it was very small. The fetishes are wands of whittled wood; the dumplings are round cakes made of millet and are to serve partly as food while young bruin is on his way to his spirit home. The precious treasures are beads, dirks, swords and other family heirlooms. They are placed upon the head or about its snout for a time and restored to the owners after the festival.]

"Ascending upon the fetishes in the cluster thou art going to thy honoured father and mother with laughter and joy."

[The honoured father and mother here mentioned are the parent bears, which, though dead, are alive for evermore. For [174] with the Ainu all discarnate souls of whatever kind, animal, vegetable, mineral, organic or inorganic, never die or for one single moment of time lose their own peculiar identity of person.

"Ascending upon the fetishes" refers to the fact that when dead the cub's head is cut off and stuck up on high at the place outside the east end window of the hut where other fetishes are arranged, some old and others new. It is thought to be a great honour to the cubs to be so set up, for there they are at times worshipped and this they like much.]

[273] "Having made *saké* again out of this wine, thou art going to invite both the near and far-away deities to a grand feast. There will be plenty of *saké* and dumplings, and while feasting thou wilt surely speak good things to the company about us."

[Having rejoined his parent bears in the spirit kingdom, the cub will make a great spiritual feast out of the essences of the viands now to be sent with him, and he will say all kinds of flattering things about his earthly foster-parents and the people who helped first to fatten him and then kill, eat and give him such a happy, festive "send-off." For, be it remembered that this feast is called Iyomande maratto, which means "Feast of sending away"]

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"When thou comest again on another pleasure visit to the honoured one who reared thee, remember that I am the man who caused this to be done. We shall meet again. We shall see one another. *He, he, he.* Adieu!"

What a world of comfort! The cub is not supposed to stay too long with his parents but is expected to return soon from the mountains, which make the bear's heaven, to enjoy another mutual feast with the people. He may even return the following spring. His former owners will be continually looking out for him. They will recognize one another and his old friends will be pleased to see him and enjoy fattening him up again for another "send off." And so, my dear little cub, adieu!

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CHAPTER XXVI

THE BEAR FESTIVAL

I have already written on the subject of rearing bear cubs and shown how these poor little beasts are kept in cages, where they are well fed, often worshipped, and at last baited, killed and eaten at the bear festival. And I have also cited a short prayer said by some of the men at the time of the killing. 527 231

The ceremonies connected with the bear festival are interesting in some respects, but when I saw one performed for the first time, I must confess that I received a bad shock and took an immediate dislike to the whole thing. It was by no means an uplifting spectacle, and the very name of it still sends a cold thrill through my person. I do not like to see the men and women beastly intoxicated. It is not pleasant to look upon the wild eyes and flushed faces of the dancing and singing guests. At one part of the ceremony, the men not only drink the warm blood of the slain animal, but also besmear their beards with some of it. The sight is indescribable, for it gives them a debauched, unclean, fierce, and fiendish appearance. [262]

In describing this festival I think I cannot do better than give a translation of an account an Ainu wrote out for me in the year 1888, and comment thereon. He told me in the course of a conversation that before the festival takes places a verbal invitation is sent far and wide to the people, something after this fashion. [114]

"I, So-and-So, am about to send away the dear little divine one whose home is among the mountains. My friends and masters, come ye to the feast and we

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527 231 will unite in the great joy of sending him off. Come!" As soon as this invitation is received, the women shave the foreheads and hinder parts of their husbands' and sons' necks, and then proceed to touch up one an- [462] others' tattoo. That done, they get out their best embroidered garments and beads and other ornaments in readiness to wear, and then set to work and pound millet for the festive cakes and dumplings. The men are not idle, but employ themselves in making numerous fetishes out of wood, to offer to the various deities and demons or to use as mediators. And some, also, for the deceased ancestors. Nothing must be left out on this most important occasion.

When a bear is sacrificed, it is not said to be killed but to be "sent away," for the spirit is then let out of the body and goes off fully alive. The account given me by my friend runs as follows:

After a cub has been brought up in its cage and has now become big, and the preparations for sending it away have been completed, and the house has been well filled with guests, and the time for the baiting has arrived, all the people go out to the cub.

The cub is supposed to have grown big enough for the feast in a year; but two or even three is thought to be the best time for the ceremony, and the bigger the animal is, the more fun there is to be got out of him in baiting, and the more meat there will be to divide among the guests.

As for the men, they do worship and perform dancing before the divine one, while the women and children clap their hands, sing songs, and take part in the dancing.

This merry performance is carried on for quite a long time, and I suppose poor little Bruin thinks it all very funny. When those who came first have finished their dancing, the late comers have their turns, for all must join in.

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Then the men turn toward the place where the fetishes are set up and arrange themselves in proper order, and worship. 527 231

The men sit down before the creature and tell him that they are about to send him to his ancestors among the mountains. They ask him not to be angry with them, for it is a very great honour which they are now about to confer upon him. He is informed that if he is really a good and proper cub he will reincarnate as before and come back later to be treated again as he is being treated now. An address is then offered like this:

"O thou divine one, thou didst come into this world for us to hunt. O thou precious little one, we worship thee; pray hear our prayers. We have nourished thee and brought thee up with great pains and care, and all because we loved thee so much. Now, as thou hast grown big, we are about to send thee to thy parents. When thou comest to them, please speak well of us and tell them how kind we have been to thee. We beseech thee to return to us once more, that we may again entertain thee."

A rope is next tied about the cub and he is taken out of the cage and led to the place where the fetishes have been set up. Then when the multitude of people have seated themselves in their order, he is made to walk about in front of them for their pleasure.

After the prayer has been said, Bruin has one cord placed round his neck and shoulder on one side, and one round the opposite shoulder by another man in such a manner as to make it quite safe. The two men hold the noose so firmly as to ensure that he shall be able to make no attack on his friends who are teasing him and will soon kill and eat him. He is then led to and fro by the two men, one on each side. If the bear is a large one and very strong, a rope is also passed over his hind quarters by two other men. Thus the people take good care of their own skins.

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527 As soon as the cub is out of the cage, the people who have formed themselves up about him shout and clap their hands, while he is being led about. They also excite him by shooting at him with blunt arrows, which strike him and then fall to the ground. The wilder the animal becomes, the more delighted are the people. And they even go so far sometimes as to beat him with long sticks. When the struggling creature shows signs of exhaustion, he is tied up to a strong stake driven into the ground, nicely ornamented with fetishes and tufts of shavings. As soon as he is quite secure, more blunt arrows are fired at him, which make him rage furiously.

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BLUNT ARROWS

Then comes the most exciting time. All at once some of the brave young fellows rush forward and seize the poor brute by the ears and fur of his head, whilst others rush in behind and lay hold of him by the hind quarters. Then, when the animal opens his mouth to snap at anyone, a man will go in and thrust a piece of wood between his jaws. When all this has been done the cub is dragged and carried to two poles lying on the ground, which are called the "poles for strangling." Here one pole is placed under his throat and the other on the nape of his neck. As soon as this has been arranged the people rush in with one accord and press the top pole down hard till the poor creature is choked. At last a man either shoots him with an arrow or stabs him through the heart with a long knife, taking care to catch the blood in some vessel. This the elders of the people and hunters drink while

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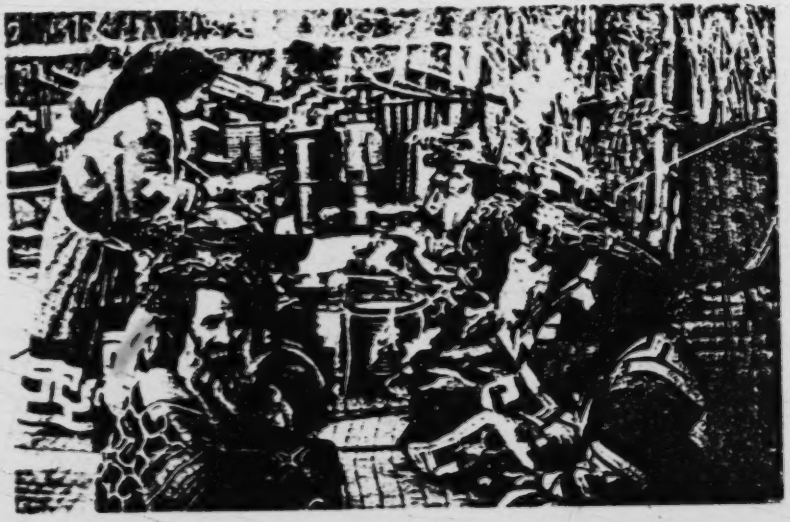
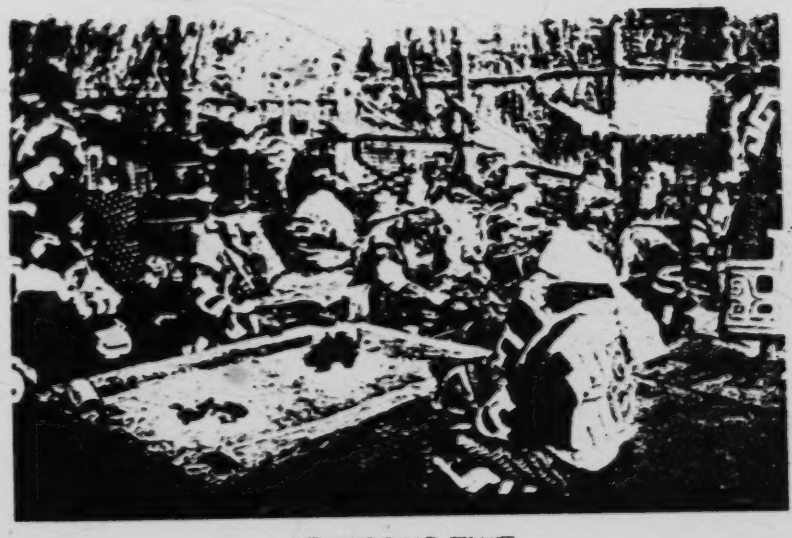


A DRINKING FEAST



AT THE BEAR FEAST

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warm, and very great care is taken not to allow a single drop even to fall upon the ground. If one drop should be spilt, dire vengeance would be taken by the gods. This is the first part of the festival.

I am very happy to say that the Government authorities have at length forbidden the people to kill the cub by strangling, so that the ceremony is now more humane and in some other ways modified. No doubt the whole thing will be quite a custom of the past in another ten or fifteen years.

My informant continued: "As soon as the cub is dead, a passage way is made into the hut by breaking down the east-end window, and he is carried in. Here he is immediately skinned right down to one inch or so from his nose point, and then beheaded. The skin is left attached to the head. This is placed upon a mat called 'Fetish Floor,' the fetish being the head itself. The nose is placed so as to face the fire. Dried fish is nicely chopped up and made into little bundles called 'bundles placed under the chin.' Then delicious strings of millet dumplings are threaded, which are called "titbit bundles." These are very good and are placed beside the fish."

The above named things are placed close under the animal's snout, not to eat, indeed, but ready for him to carry off to the mountains to make a feast, of which he partakes with his parent bears. While all this has been going on, some of the flesh has been boiled and a good soup made in large cauldrons hanging over the fires on the hearth. A moustache-lifter is also placed by the cub's nose, even when it is a female. Chestnuts, walnuts, and sometimes Japanese sweets used also to be given to the guests when I first put in an appearance among them.

"Then," my friend added, "when the old men have placed their crowns on their heads, they dance, and, the head of the divine cub having been nicely arranged and many fetishes presented to him, he is given some

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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of his own cooked meat and broth to eat. And a little of his own blood is also set before him. After waiting a short time, when all are quite silent, the headman worships, saying, 'O divine One, we present Thee with these fetishes, cakes and dried fish. Take them to thy parents and say, "I have been brought up by an Ainu father and mother, and have been kept free from harm and trouble. I am now grown big and am come back to you. I have also brought cakes, dried fish, and fetishes with me. Let us rejoice." If you say this to them they will be glad.'

"After the meat has been cooked, some of it is put into cups and placed near the mouth of the cub, and all wait in respectful silence for a short time. After a bit the Master of Ceremonies calls out in a loud voice, 'The little divine one has now finished eating; come, ye friends, let us eat with him and worship.' He then takes a full cup, salutes it, offers a few drops to the fire, and divides it among the guests. This cup is called the "cup of offering" and also the "cup of the feast." And in this feast we find the people holding a communion with their God, namely, the Bear. The entrails of the creature are cut up fine, sprinkled with salt, and eaten raw.

"Later, a pole is prepared to hold the cub's head. This is placed outside at the nusa place. The head is taken and fixed in a crotch in the top, and is tied there with strings of shavings, and called "Life-containing-fetish."

"Thus, the skin having been quite detached from the head, peeled off, in fact, right down to the snout, the ears being left standing on the shining skull, the skull is taken outside through the east end window, now made into a doorway, and there set up on high. It is no longer called a bear's head, but the name is changed into "Divine Preserver." It is here frequently wor-

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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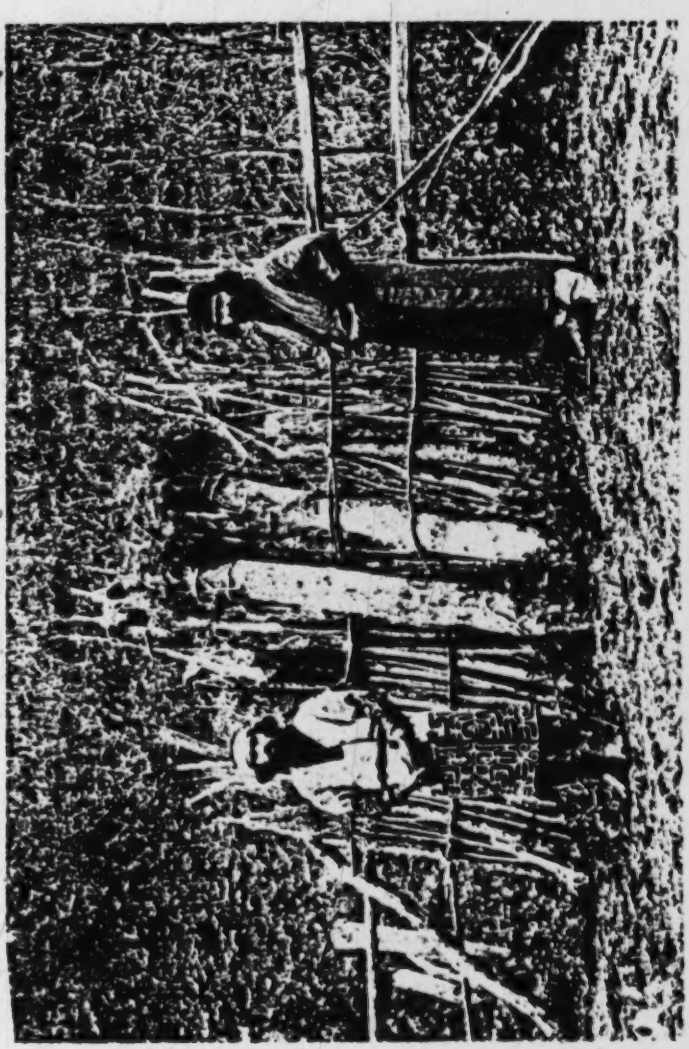

BEAR'S HEAD SET UP ON HIGH FOR WORSHIP

[P.210(A)]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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shipped. The whole is called *kew-mande-ni*, i.e. "tree for sending off the living creature." 527 231

"Then one 'spread out, and one 'twisted wand,' two in all, are set up over the cub's head. After this its own specially prepared viands—dumplings and fish—and a few cub arrows are presented to it to carry on its journey back to the mountains." [778]

FETISHES MADE AT A BEAR FESTIVAL

So we find the idea of a death is emphatically denied. The animal is not killed, but his living spirit is sent away to its heaven in the mountains. There he once more enjoys the society of his parents and friends. After a time there he is supposed to be reincarnated and to return to this earth as another cub. Such was my native friend's very interesting written account of the *iyomande* or "sending away" festival. This national feast goes on till late in the night, when such as are able to do so return to their homes or go to stay with friends in the village. Much *saké* is, of course, consumed, and all get more or less intoxicated. The [761 775]

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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231 hut is a sad sight in the morning, when the men may be seen still lying about the floor, snoring where they fell over. And it is a sad thing to see the crowns the men were lying scattered about among the cups.

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527 During my sojourn in this land I have witnessed many peculiar customs, but among them all I think the one I saw at a festive scene was the most comical, peculiar and ridiculous. As I was passing by a certain hut one day, I heard a very merry chattering, accompanied with much loud laughter, going on inside. This greatly puzzled me, for I had not heard the like before. As it was the home of an old friend, I took the liberty of slipping quietly through the door, without giving the customary coughs before entering.

There sat the family with a few friends round the hearth, partaking of stewed meat, vegetables and millet. They were taking it directly out of the pot which was hanging over the fire, and so they got it hot. They were much astonished at my sudden appearing, and all turned to stare at me. They stopped their eating and for a second or two seemed to hold their breath, and then suddenly burst out into roars of laughter, their merry eyes sparkling with delight. They made room for me and invited me to join them. But it was all so funny and I so ignorant as to what was in the pot that I declined with thanks.

I was greatly surprised to see the people, big and little, each with his or her personal belongings tied up in bundles as if in readiness to migrate to some other land, and it reminded me of the exodus of Israel from Egypt. Some of them actually had bundles slung on to their backs with the tying cord round their foreheads. Beside others were clothing, ornaments, spoons, moustache-lifters, pots, kettles, axes, bows and arrows, knives and other articles, all ready at hand. When the Ainu men are greatly surprised they sometimes say, "*Etukishma*"! This means: "I seize my nose!" All I could do was simply to say "*Etukishma*" and laugh with them. I did not know what to make of it all, for it was such a peculiar scene. Nor have I seen it since. I was indeed fortunate to have caught them in the act at that time. I did not think it would

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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be wise to pass remarks then or ask any questions, so I carefully took stock and bided the time when a more appropriate occasion should present itself. When I did at last make inquiries, I picked up a good deal of curious information, besides that which may be found mentioned in the last chapter. 825 527

"The Ainu believe that otters, like other animals, have power to possess people. Should they do so, loss of memory is the sure result. And so a very forgetful person is said to be "possessed by an otter." When the people find any fish which have been killed by otters, they carry them home and use them for food. But when they eat such fish, or partake of otter flesh, special prayers must be said to the Goddess of Fire, asking her to protect them from the machinations of evilly disposed otters. While eating them, all must carefully tie a carrying cord round their heads. This is to prevent the spirit of the otter from entering the brain, which is the seat of the memory. Should a person neglect to wear one of these cords while eating of these creatures, he will be possessed by one, so that the next time he goes to the garden to work or mountains to hunt, he is bound to forget his knife, axe, hoe or some other tool." Such was the story told me. It was this feast I happened upon at the time I am writing of. And I am very glad to have witnessed it.

A man told me to be extremely careful always about eating the head of an otter, for in partaking of such any person renders himself specially liable to the otter's curse and if it falls on one, complete loss of memory is the result. The following is the legend he told me about it. 753

"The otter's head must not be lightly used as food, for if people are not careful they will, if they eat of it, become as forgetful as that animal. Hence it happens that when an otter has been killed, the people do not usually eat the head. But if they should be seized with a strong desire to partake thereof at a feast, they 262

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262 may do so provided they take proper precautions. When eating it they must take their swords, knives, [264 axes, bows and arrows, tobacco boxes and pipe trays, cups, garden tools and everything they possess, tie ●527] them up in carrying slings and sit with them attached to their heads while eating. In no other way may the head be feasted on. If this instruction be carefully carried out, there will be no danger of forgetting where anything has been placed. Otherwise loss of memory will be the result."

And then, to wind up his information, the man gave me this example to digest.

539 "The otter forgets very much and very quickly; his memory can not be relied on at all, for it always fails him. One day he spent much time at sharpening his sword, and when he had finished doing so he buckled it on and went fishing. By-and-by he came upon a whale, which he attacked furiously. He jumped upon it and bit it with all his might, but, as the skin was very tough, he could make no impression whatever. His teeth would not enter but glanced off the skin at every bite. He laboured thus, scratching and biting for a long time, and only got very tired for his pains. Thereupon some Ainu, who were standing upon the shore, roared with laughter and jeered at him, saying, "O you Divine One, why do you not attack the whale with the sword you have at your side?" The otter, being thus brought to himself, remembered that he had a sword upon his thigh. So he drew it and very soon dispatched the creature. Thus we see how the otter was cursed by God for his original sin of forgetfulness." By what has now been written it will easily be understood that when one Ainu calls another "Otter-head," he means a great deal by it.

262 278 These matters are most strange. And it is very curious to learn that, although the meat and head of this animal eaten cooked are supposed to have such adverse magical effects, the dried heart is said to be a

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924) 1927
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821 After some time, much prayer is said and a great wailing is carried on. So it is with regard to an eclipse of the sun or moon in the Ainu villages. The people come out into the open and blow and sprinkle water up toward the orb affected, hoping thereby to revive the sufferer and bring back the lost luminosity. While doing this, they ask the sun or moon, as the case may be, to be revived. If the water be sprinkled with branches of willow or sprays of mugwort, it is supposed to have special efficacy in bringing back life to the suffering deity.

One can understand their using branches of willow in this custom, when one remembers that, as has already been mentioned elsewhere, willow is a totem tree, it being supposed that the backbone of the first man was made of it. And, although the sun and moon appear to us round in shape, yet the deities whose vehicles they are supposed to be, are conceived of as being anthropomorphic.

527 821 The eclipse I have mentioned did not last long, and as soon as it was over, *saké* was procured and drunk in its honour, and divine worship was offered. For, by the help of this little ceremony performed by the Ainu and the favour of the Creator of all, the sun's faintness had departed and death was driven away. On speaking with the people afterwards, I obtained the following lore.

539 821 Said one man: "When my father was a child, he heard his old grandfather say that his grandfather saw a total eclipse of the sun. The earth became quite dark, and shadows could not be seen; the birds went to roost, and the dogs began to howl. The black, dead sun shot out tongues of fire and lightning came from its sides, and the stars shone brightly. Then the sun began to return to life, and the faces of the people were seen to wear an aspect of death; and as the sun gradually came to life, then men began to live again."

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226 turned, and the women and children would have to be busy, as soon as the darkness set in, keeping up beacon fires along the shore as guides to the returning boats, and then help their fathers and husbands to land and cut up the fish and carry it home. It was indeed a busy and anxious time with them all.

226 782 The next morning we went out and soon found that the men had been successful. The boats themselves told us that, for when the men have been fortunate enough to spear a sword-fish, they dispose of their fishing tackle in a particular way, and ornament the boats with a number of fetishes. This is done as follows. The boat is drawn a good way up, well out of reach of the tide, the bow being placed facing the sea for relaunching as soon as required. The four oars are then stuck into the ground and tied together in pairs at the upper end and made to lean over the boat so as to form a sort of long tent, one pair of oars being placed at the bow end and the other at the stern. A long pole, which the men use in pushing the boat along through the surf and shallow water, is then laid across them in such a way as to reach from stem to stern. The spears and harpoons, together with the ropes and lines, are laid upon this pole. When this had been done according to custom, Japanese alcohol, called *shōchū* was on this occasion procured, one bottle for each. Then the men worked hard, decapitated the sword-fish and stuck it in the sand by the snout for worship. It seemed to me to be more or less an offering to its own spirit. That done, the creature was cut up and divided out.

226 [778] ●527 After the alcohol had been procured and drunk, the bottles were stuck on the ends of the boat and rowlock pins, and many fetishes made and set about. The sea-gods were thanked for the assistance they had given in procuring such a fine fish, and the fish itself was greatly praised for suffering himself to be caught

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
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—so big and toothsome a creature—and asked to come again at some future date. The fishermen were all drunk and the other people feasting all day long, so that we had once more to postpone our lantern show.

When we got up in the morning, we made sure we should have a fine time of it in the evening, when all had had their fill of nice fresh sword-fish, and so went round to ask the people to be prepared to come as early as possible to the meeting. But, alas, we were again doomed to disappointment. It happened in this way. There was one boat which could not get in with the others the night before, and the men were more than twelve hours late. The people had been very anxious about them, and we all went to the shore time after time to see if they were in view. I suppose it was the custom, for the Ainu, I found, saw the boat fully an hour before I could make it out. As soon as the boat arrived with its three men, the villagers were swept under a great cloud, for the late comers looked as scared as wild cats and declared that they had had a fight with the devil.

These men I found sitting by the hearth in a very woebegone attitude. They said that they had been out with the other boats but were farther off in the ocean than they. They were after a big swordfish, when a great sea monster put in an appearance quite close to them. "He had big, staring, black eyes and was very ugly and most uncanny. He came up from below and forthwith proceeded to attack us. A most desperate battle ensued and he began to spread his arms over the boat. The monster was round in shape and had very long tentacles. He emitted a bluish dark fluid which discoloured the water all round the boat, and the air around became very malodorous."

I told the men that I thought it was a big octopus, but they said "No, indeed, it was Satan himself." "There was nothing else to be done in the face of such

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AN AINU FESTIVAL.

CHAPTER IV.

An Ainu Festival.

527 THE Ainu have few public performances, and no special time of the year is fixed for them. As it so happened, a festival—a "Iyomanrei"—took place while I was at Piratori.

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526 The performance was held in a large hut belonging to the heir apparent to the chieftainship of Piratori. I went to the hut and asked whether I could attend the performance. The host, in answer, came to meet me at the door, and, taking me by the hand, led me in. I was shown where to sit, on the southern side of the hut, the place of honour for strangers, and my host sat in front of me and saluted me in Ainu fashion.

Benry and several old men were squatting on the floor, Benry in the middle, and he was again gorgeous in his regal [242] clothes. Some of the others, who wore a crown like Benry's, were chiefs of the neighbouring villages, who had come up for the grand occasion.

One by one all the men present rose and came to stroke their hair and beard before me, and I returned the compliment as well as I could in Ainu fashion. The hut was gradually

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men.

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque.

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process.

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

527 373 I was a friend of the Ainu, and must join them in the drinking.

My attention was suddenly drawn to three old chiefs, who, half drunk, stood in front of the small east window. They dipped their moustache-lifters in their bowls, waving them towards the sun as a salutation to the "Chop Kamui," the "Great Sun." There was no religious character attached to 576 this libation offered to the sun, no more than when we take off 582 our hats passing a respected friend in the street. It is a mere sign of respect, not of worship. Besides, it must be clearly understood that no "offerings" of wine are ever made by the Ainu to the "Great Sun," and that the "libations" offered are invariably consumed by the offerer.

527 I managed to get several sketches of the assembly, and every moment I expected to get into trouble again; but this time they took it most kindly.

The hut became very stuffy, owing to the large number of persons and the smoke. There were nearly two hundred people in it, packed closely together, and there was nothing in 573 the show to interest one—certainly not the disgusting sight of this drunkenness, which, moreover, became monotonous as well as disgusting.

I stroked my hair and beard—the latter only figuratively— 576 in sign of salute, to the host, Benry, and the other drowsy chiefs, and, carefully avoiding pushing or treading on any member of the unsteady crowd, I made my exit.

Oh, what a treat it was to breathe fresh air again!

Outside the hut the pretty *menokos* (girls) of Piratori were 592 having a lot of fun all to themselves. They were all dressed in long yellowish gowns, with rough white and red ornamentations on a patch of blue cloth, on their backs; and each girl took a very active part in a game, or a kind of savage dance, 527 524 called Tapkara. They all ranged themselves in a circle, and 535 a child or two was sometimes placed in the centre. The game consisted in collectively hopping an indefinite number of times, calling out either the name, or the accompanying sound, of some of their everyday occupations, and clapping the hands so as to keep time. For instance, one sound was "Ouye, ouye" ("Fire, fire"), and they all blew as when making a fire, and hopped till they were nearly senseless.

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Then the next was "R-r-r, r-r-r, r-r-r," and with this they imitated the pulling of a rope.

Then "Pirrero, pirrero; pirrero, pirrero," was the sound accompanying the action of rowing, imitating the squeaking of the paddle produced by the friction on the canoe.

The movement of the arms changed according to the sounds uttered, but the hopping was kept up continuously. The game reminded me much of our Sir Roger de Coverley, in a more barbarous form, but certainly not less pretty than our old country dance.

AINU WOMEN DANCING, PIRATORI.

Late in the afternoon all the men came out of the hut, and by a winding path I was taken to the valley along the river, at the foot of the cliff on which Piratori is built. Benry and all the other chiefs remained on the cliff. Bareback races formed the next and last event in the programme, and the chiefs were to witness them from their "high point of view."

There was great excitement as to who should ride the ponies. The Ainu are fond of sports, and I noticed that ultimately they were sharp enough to select their jockeys from among the lightest men. The winner of each race had a good

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

time of it, but the other unfortunate jockeys were pulled off the ponies by the angry mob, and knocked about as worthless beings.

The evening came, and with the dying sun ended that memorable day of festivities. I retired. Distant sounds of the *menokos*, still enjoying themselves, came to me with the wind, but fainter and fainter they grew as it was getting darker.

"Pirrero! Pirrero! Pirrero!" I heard again, till at last the sounds faded away into a mere murmur, and I fell asleep.

The morning that I left Piratori, old Benry put on his regal clothes and crown to bid me good-bye.

PIRATORI WOMAN IN COSTUME.

"Nishpa, Popka-no-okkayan" ("Sir, may you be preserved warm"), said the old chief, in the Ainu fashion of bidding farewell; "I have a pain in my chest, owing to your leaving Piratori, but I shall accompany you part of the way."

I dissuaded the old chief from doing that, but he went on, with his plaintive voice: "Nishpa, you must tell in your country that Piratori is a nice place, and all the Ainu are good people. Not like the Shamo" (Japanese; also half-breeds), "for they are bad. You must return soon," he added, and, taking my hand, he pressed it to his hairy chest. He then took me to his hut again, and there renewed his farewells, and I renewed mine to him, to his *great* wife, and to his house, for it is part of the Ainu etiquette to bid good-bye to the house of a friend as well as to the owner of it.

The return journey to Saru Mombets was accomplished without much difficulty.

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tive and well-composed till then, went into fits of laughter when Gounod's masterpiece was played, and all through it the noise of people laughing was so great as to drown entirely the orchestra and singers. Some of the women in the audience nearly went into hysterics at the long *legato* notes at the beginning of the piece. Louder melodies and of a livelier character did not affect them so. I wish to draw attention to this fact, that amongst all primitive peoples the native music is sad and slow—the livelier melodies coming later; and also, that with both wild and domestic animals the most noteworthy effects are produced by slow and simple music. We all know how dogs will remain quiet and calm when a soft and gentle air is played, but get furious to the point of savageness under the "plan-plan-rataplan" of a merry noisy tune. As for the last item connected with Ainu music, viz., dancing, it is rarely practised, even by the Ainu women, to whom alone it pertains. At the best it is of a very rude form. In the Piratori festival (Chapter IV.) we have seen that their dancing is accompanied by rhythmical sounds imitating the noises produced by implements in everyday use, as the squeaking of a paddle by the friction on the canoe, the cry which accompanies the pounding of millet, blowing alight the fire, and similar sounds. Time is kept by clapping the hands and by vociferations which tell the partners what position or action to assume, each action being accompanied by a different sound, but all performed while the hopping is kept up. I have not felt justified in classifying these rhythmical sounds, which accompany the dancing, as choruses, for there is not enough in them to constitute either a tune or a melody. They are suggested more by the action of the arms and upper part of the body than by the steps; in fact, if it were not for the continuous hopping it would be more accurate to describe Ainu dancing as "posturing." The dancers form a circle, with sometimes one or two children in the centre. As there are no professional musicians, there are no professional dancers; but though each man may be his own composer of music, the women never alter their dances, which are handed down unchanged from one generation to another. It is only at festivals that the dance is performed, and never inside the huts, but in the open air. It is not for the amusement of spectators, for besides one or two of the older women,

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TROPHY OF BEARS' SKULLS.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Ainu Superstitions—Morals—Laws and Punishments.

I CANNOT begin this chapter better than by saying that Ainu religious ideas are essentially chaotic. They recognise no supreme God, and no intelligent Creator; and they cannot be called polytheists, for indeed they are not *worshippers* of any power—taking the word in its full meaning. The Ainu worship nothing.

If they have any belief at all it is an imperfect kind of Totemism, and the central point of that belief is their own descent from the "bear." This does not include the smallest reverence for their ancestor. They capture their "Totem and keep it in captivity; they speak to it and feed it; but no prayers are offered to it. When the bear is fat, it is taken out of the cage to be ill-treated and baited by all the men present. It is tied to a stake and a pole is thrust into its mouth; and

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4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

when the poor beast has been sufficiently tortured, pricked with pointed sticks, shot at with blunted arrows, bruised with stones, maddened with rage and ill-usage, it is killed outright, and, "ancestor" as it may be, it makes the chief dish and *raison d'être* of a festival, where all the members of the tribe partake of its flesh. The owner of the hut in which the feast takes place then sticks the skull on to a forked pole, and sets it outside with the others at the east end of his hut. The skin is made into garments, or is spread on the ground to sleep on.

In addition to this rudimentary kind of Totemism—if I may call it so—the Ainu show a certain amount of fear and respect for anything which supports their life or can destroy it. This, however, is under the form of an "instinct" rather than a "religious feeling." Dumb animals of any kind are similarly affected by powers which they cannot explain; but as we would not think for a moment that when a dog is barking at the moon the dog is worshipping the orb of night, or when it basks in the sun that it is offering prayers and reverence to the orb of day, no more should we think that the Ainu, who are not much above dumb animals, worship all they respect and fear.

If other writers, most of whom have never visited the Ainu country, had not written on this subject, I would have limited myself to saying that the Ainu, properly speaking, have no religion, but as certain untenable theories and false ideas have been published, I feel bound to state what I know on the subject, that, so far as I can, I may correct these erroneous impressions. I regard myself as qualified to speak with some authority, as I am the *only* foreigner who has seen and studied *all* the different tribes of Ainu in Yezo and the Kuriles; while other writers, the few who have actually been there, have based their statements on a few half-castes or Ainu in the more civilised part of southern Yezo, collecting from them ideas left behind by previous travellers, and offering them to the public as purely Ainu. That these hasty travellers and cursory writers have been deceived, or have deceived themselves, is not astonishing; for it must be borne in mind that the Ainu language is as poor in words as the Ainu brain is deficient in thoughts. Thus it is no easy matter to explain to an Ainu what is meant by "religion," by "divinities," and by

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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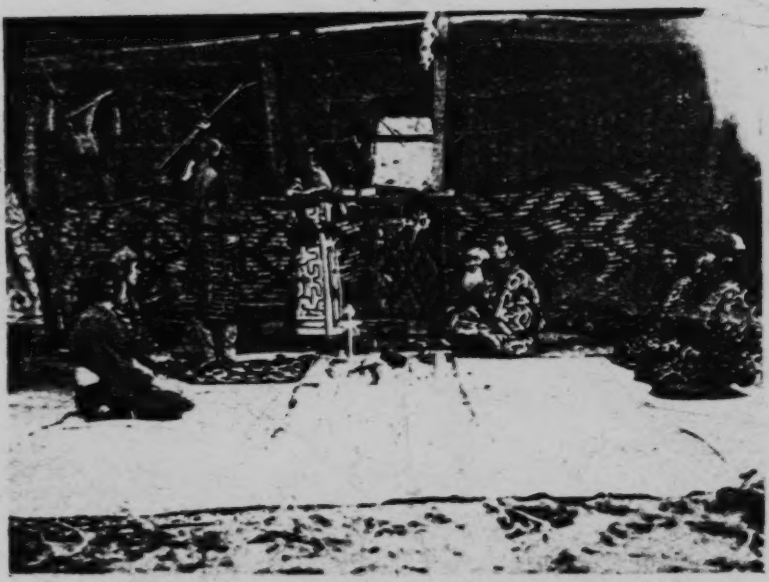

Fig. 1. Shooting arrows into roof to drive out evil spirits before the house-warming ceremony.

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516
264
114
353
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Fig. 2. The author in the *u-eshopki* (ceremonial seating) at feast after bear ceremony.

PLATE XVI. CEREMONIES IN THE HOUSE.

[p. 30, (P)]

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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children, or, on festive and funeral occasions by guests. Guests always moved slowly and stoopingly, with hands hanging before them. They moved along the line of arrows to the positions indicated by the E's, where, if many, they sat in line awaiting ceremonial arrangements.

The interior seen in Plate XIV has a wooden floor, now usual in all but the poorest houses. Above the sitters is a horizontal frame stretching over the hearth. This is the *tuna*, from which is suspended the adjustable pot-hook (*shuat*). That in the picture departs from the old-fashioned and more elaborate type that I have seen in use, but both are hand carved. From one side of the older one (Pl. XI, fig. 1) hangs a large cooking spoon (*kashup*) and from the other a spatula (*shto-pera*) used in making millet dumplings; it has a notched vertical bar (*ikkeu*) which slides up and down the frame of mulberry wood. The latter is softened with hot water, bent and then slowly dried to rigidity.

The utensils used by women in preparing food are known collectively as *topochi kamui*. These include, besides those just mentioned, the pestle (*yuta-ni*), mortar (*nishu*) and winnowing basket (*mui*), all of which are kept in the shed. These three play important parts in rites concerned with difficult childbirth, and the first two take part in the exorcism of Pauchi Kamui, or his evil underlings, in cases of food poisoning or acute abdominal pains. The mortar is also used as a practical expedient; patients are rolled thereon to induce vomiting. All things used in preparing food receive curled shavings at festivals, when offerings to the spirits are never omitted. Those attached to the upper end of the pot-hook are usually removed and burnt as an offering to Kamui Fuchi, lest it be ignited and set fire to the dried food on the frame above the hearth.

Every house with any pretensions to comfort has plenty of reed matting. Examples can be seen in Plate XVI, figs. 1 and 2. They are called *inau-so* because *inau* are placed upon them; and at all festivals one is laid down at the head of the hearth, as is seen in Plate XVII, where a preliminary purification is being performed before the House-Warming Ceremony. When removed from this position the mat must be handled gently so that the accumulated *ramat* is not disturbed. The design on all *inau-so* have a general similarity, but definite variations are made by certain families. For ordinary use plain mats are woven, as may be seen in Plate XVI.

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been necessary in this case. The ancestors could only be called to the abode of their descendants by an elder who was a direct descendant. Therefore, when the new owner's father or paternal uncle is unable to attend, or is dead, the prayer to the ancestors is omitted.

Arrived at the house, the elder who is to perform the ceremony, and who may be the owner if the latter is an elder, prepares a backward-shaven *inau*, sits down at the hearth, salutes it with the ritual salutation (*ongami*), and does the same to Kenru Katkimat, the female spirit of the house, represented by the chisei-koro *inau*.[1]

When the fire is kindled Kamui Fuchi is reborn on the hearth. She is greeted with the ritual salutation, a backward-shaven *inau* is stuck into the ashes, and she is prayed to as the Young (Peure) Kamui Fuchi. Failing the father, any good elder may say this prayer. The prayer is to the effect that the house, vouchsafed by Shiramba Kamui, from whom it has been besought, 'is now ready for Peure Kamui Fuchi, for whose arousing from rest we are reverently thankful.' She is asked to protect the new house and its inmates, and to give them health, prosperity, and many children who will grow up strong and well.

Ensconced on the hearth, the fire of Kamui Fuchi is soon employed in cooking, though there is a vague tradition that in some districts a special fire lit at the lower end of the hearth was used. An abundance of food has to be provided for the house-warming, and it was customary but not obligatory for guests to contribute. Nowadays any available food is offered, but formerly a feast consisted largely of meat and fish, fresh, frozen or dried.[2]

[1] This *inau* is made afresh whenever the sacred beer is brewed, and must not be confused with Chisei-koro Kamui. (See also Chapter V, p. 65, and Chapter VIII, p. 88.)—N.G.M.

[2] At present any kind of available food is offered, partly Japanese, e.g. rice and cheap cakes or biscuits. In times past when the Ainu were free to fish and hunt within the boundaries of local rights (commonly watersheds of large rivers) a feast could include a choice of: Fresh fish, frozen fish (*ruibe*), dried fish, often smoked above the fire. Fresh meat, mostly deer, sometimes sliced, dried, and hung up above the fire in the smoke. At the Bear Festival the flesh was distributed at the common meal. Liver, frozen in winter, was eaten raw. The fish usually eaten was salmon, most abundant in season, hence called *kamui chep*, divine fish. Sea trout and other fish were obtainable at one time or another, also shell-fish in places. Salmon or other roe was prized. Vegetable foods included several kinds of millet of which cakes or dumplings (*shto*) were made, besides its use in soup and the not inconsiderable amount suspended in and deposited from the sacred brew. Cakes were also made of starchy material prepared from

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VII

THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY
(*CHISEI NOMI*)

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527 I HAVE selected the *Chisei Nomi*, literally 'house offering', for detailed description because it includes the main features of all Ainu social and religious celebrations. It has a few special traits incidental to the occasion, but for the most part it provides a model of the exact procedure at every festival. It is a service to the 'important' (*pase*) *kamui* as such forms part of all celebrations at which the mutual fellowship of gods and men is regulated by ritual, and is also a house-warming, a ceremony which must take place before a new house can be occupied or fresh occupants can take over an old house. Formerly the ritual was strictly adhered to, and even now the few elders who treasure the traditional observance of detail keep to it pretty closely. In this district variants are few, [184] and are mostly additions to the common type, as in the ritual dismissal of the oear.

[778] As previously remarked, the Ainu house is sacred. It is even regarded by many as *kamui*, not only as the shrine of Kamui Fuchi [774] but because it is pervaded by the spiritual influence of Shiramba Kamui. The latter is reminded in prayer that the house, vouch- [789] safed by him, belongs to him. A preliminary precaution against evil spirits is the shooting of arrows made of mugwort into the roof. The whole ritual clearly indicates the sacramental nature of the festival (Pl. XVI, fig. 1).

[776] After the sacred beer has been brewed and the new fire lighted, [782] an effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui is made. Then all important *kamui* are invited and given offerings, and throughout the ceremony they are believed to be present as guests. Invitations have been issued

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to neighbours and friends, but acquaintances, even if uninvited, are at liberty to partake of the feast, and even a stranger may be admitted if he asks permission and his credentials are in order. Before the arrival of the guests protective shavings have been dipped in the sacred beer and the householder (wearing an embroidered robe) and his wife have seated themselves at the places (10) shown on the plan (text fig. 3). Behind the householder are the sacred treasures, and in the north-east corner stands Chisei-koro Kamui which is, or rather was, made only before ceremonies for which the sacred beer had been brewed.

Husband and wife sit on a sacred mat, and another is laid at the top of the hearth (text fig. 3 at (7)), on which is placed a tray with four large cups (*tuki*) of lacquer ware on ring-like saucers (*tukinum*). These cups were used formerly only for the sacred beer. A libation wand (*ikubashui*) is placed on the rim of each cup. Behind the tray (*otchiki*) is the large lacquered vessel (*sai-shintoko*) ((6) in text fig. 3) containing the sacred beer. Nearer the sacred window is another tray with four cups (5). In the south-east corner often stand two of the large tubs in which the beer was brewed (1). All the food which is to be partaken of is placed on or close to the lower end of the hearth, to acquire merit from being offered to Kamui Fuchi.

All the male guests make a sound of clearing the throat before entering. They walk slowly and quietly towards the head of the hearth, but not close to it, keeping on the side opposite the householder, stooping the while with palms about level with the knees. To walk briskly would be a breach of decorum calling for a sharp reprimand. Ordinary etiquette forbade an Ainu, whether friend or stranger, to approach a householder at home in anything but a slow and quiet manner, and even today, when manners are less strictly observed, it would be highly improper to enter erect and hastily on a sacred occasion. To be humbly reverent (*oripak*) before the assembled gods and their worshippers is a sign of good breeding.

On reaching a spot about level with the head of the hearth, but at a slight distance from it, the visitor turns for an instant towards the south-eastern corner (*so-kesh*), to which he performs a partial salutation by slightly raising his arms once or twice. This is said to be an acknowledgment of the presence of the mischievous spirit of tipsy behaviour, but may be a survival of a ritual salutation to the spirit of the sacred beer. A more reverent salutation is next

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342 576 ●527 made to Chisei-koro Kamui in his sacred corner. The visitor then sits down on the floor in line with the other guests, at (2) as shown on the plan in text fig. 3, and salutes Kamui Fuchi most elaborately. He then makes a slighter salutation to the beer in the vessel and then to the householder. All the guests are watching, and as soon as the visitor salutes the householder they do the same.

342 527 [554] The male relatives sit at (3) indicated on the plan, the female relatives and elderly women friends at (12), younger women with children at (13).

When a sufficient number of guests has arrived, the service to the gods begins. 342 527 273 First there is a curious ceremony of ladling the beer. The housewife goes to the head of the hearth, takes some of the beer in a ladle (*pishaku*) and pours it three times from left to right round the inner edge of the vessel (*shintoko*). Then, taking some of the beer from the bottom and some from the top, she fills a lacquered jug (*etunup*), and pours it back into the vessel, again going round the inner edge three times. The jug is then again filled partly from the bottom and partly from the top, and from the jug the beer is poured into the cups. This may be done because the beer tends to deposit lees, but I have been told that it is to insure against poisoning, e.g. with powdered aconite root. Ceremonial pouring into the cups is called *is-mare*.

342 527 782 During or after this proceeding the householder calls two trusty elders to perform the ritual salutation with libations and prayers to Chisei-koro Kamui in his corner and Nusa-koro Kamui outside. The elders are not called by name but as the father of so-and-so, naming an elder son if living, otherwise a daughter, or if childless as the husband of so-and-so. Visiting elders wear ceremonial dress and headband (*Sapa-un-be*).[1] When chosen to officiate, an elder is conducted to his place by a male relative of the householder, who takes the left hand of the elder in his right. [411] It is noteworthy that whereas a ceremonial sword must be worn by the householder, and by an elder officiating at the sacred fence, it is not worn by the elder ministering to Chisei-koro Kamui. It is always worn when offering or praying to the ancestors in the ceremony of Falling Tears, which is never neglected when a modicum of the ancient

[301] [789] [1] *Sapa-un-be*, 'thing on the head', is a band or circlet made of several strands of twisted *inau* shavings sewn to a fillet of cloth, and usually having in front a carved effigy of a theriomorphic deity, bear or other. This band protects the elder against evil spirits. Women also are supposed to wear a kind of tiara (*chipanup*), but commonly have a black scarf tied round the head.—N.G.M.

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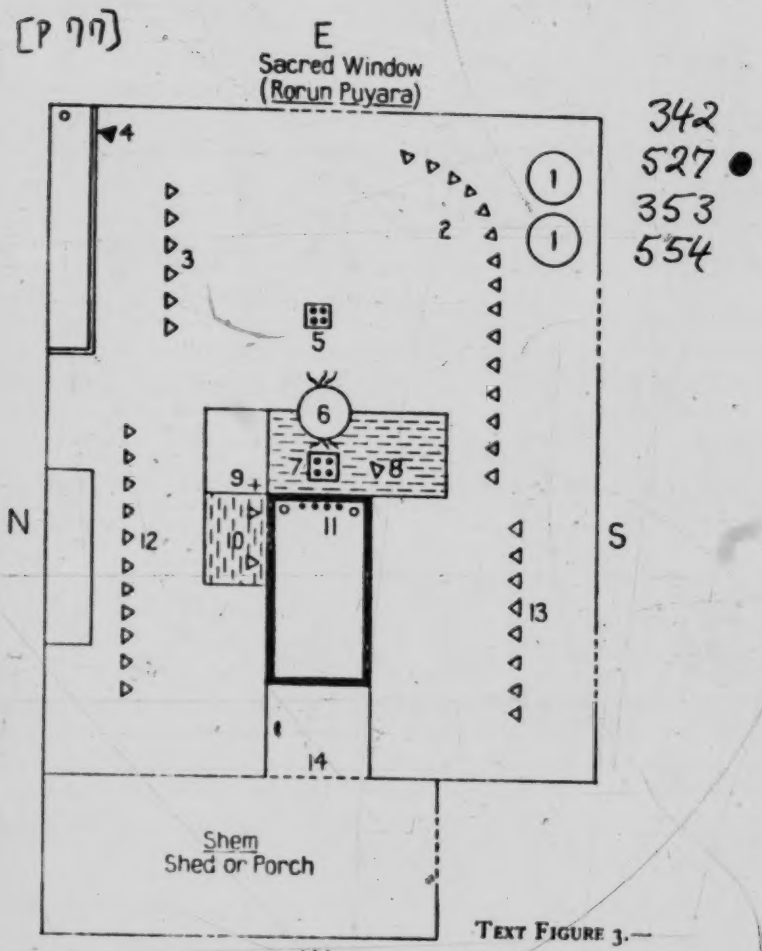

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TEXT FIGURE 3.—*Chisei Nomi.*

1. *Poro shintoko*, great receptacles for *ashkoro*.
2. Position of male guests on arrival.
3. Male relatives.
4. *Ekashi* offering to Chisei-koro Kamui.
5, 7. Trays with four *tuki* and *ikuibashui* each.
6. *Sai shintoko*, for *ashkoro* during the celebrations.
8. *Ekashi* on a sacred mat (*inau-ro*) doing *ongami* to Kamui Fuchi before leaving the house.
9. *Chisei-koro inau*.
10. Householder or deputy, and housewife. The former gives a libation to Kamui Fuchi, with a prayer.
11. Four *chehorakakep inau* erected in the ashes of the hearth.
12. Female relatives and elderly female friends.
13. Female guests with children.
14. Entrance.

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342 beverage may be made surreptitiously for the ancestral spirits. The
● 527 ceremonial dress with patterns worn on (*kapara amip*) should have
782 only white patterns during ministrations to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-
[411] koro Kamui and the ancestors.
[292] To return to the ceremony. The elder who is to minister to Chisei-koro Kamui is led to his corner, and he who is to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui to the top of the hearth (8). Meanwhile the householder receives a cup of beer from the housewife, sprinkles a few drops with the libation wand on each of the backward-shaven *inau* standing in the ashes of the hearth at (11) on the plan, and then a few more on the fire itself. He then makes salutation and the male guests follow suit. Turning the cup so that the point of the libation wand, with its sign of the tongue, is directed towards the
[776] fire, he prays[1] to Kamui Fuchi by her titles of Iresu Kamui and in some places Moshiri-koro. While so doing he holds the cup in his left hand and strokes it with his right, an act of salutation. He tells her that the sacred beer has been prepared by her favour for service to all the gods to whom it is about to be offered. He asks her to inspire the libation wand as her messenger so that, should the prayers be unsuitably worded, the meaning will become clear to the good *kamui*. She is also besought to be favourable to the household, to rear up good children and grant prosperity.

During this prayer the other two elders attend to their duties. The housewife takes a cup of beer to the elder near the north-east corner (4), also with a libation wand on the rim. With this he gives a few drops to the head of the effigy of Chisei-koro Kamui and sometimes a few to the adjacent floor, and addresses him in adulatory terms as representative of Shiramba Kamui, asking protection for the house and all therein. The other elder performs ritual salutation to Kamui Fuchi, receives his cup, tells her briefly that he is about to obey her behest to minister to Nusa-koro Kamui, and then departs on his mission.

With two exceptions the sacred (eastern) window is always used
[823] for passing things used in ritual, such as *inau*, beer, or the flesh of
[764] sacrificed animals. The east stands for life[2] and the west for death, and until the sun has passed the meridian it would be most im-

[1] Munro states that he has recorded this and other important prayers and
[114] placed them with translations in an appendix; unfortunately this appendix has not been found.—B.Z.S.

[533] [2] An ancient song which I learnt from Rennuikesh, and which he states has been handed down in his family for many generations, tells of the rising sun

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proper to bury the dead and perilous to slay the young bear-god. It would be similarly inauspicious to present offerings to the dead through the east window. Although the departed spirits have gone to the Underworld (Pokna Moshiri), where they live in much the same way as on earth, they are supposed to have 'gone west' with the setting sun.

The two exceptions referred to are the offerings to the dead at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and to Nusa-koro Kamui at the ceremony about to be described. In this, the elder, wearing his white-patterned robe, headband and ceremonial sword, and holding his cup with the libation wand resting on the rim, goes slowly out by the door on the west. He proceeds along the northern wall of the house to the chaff-thrown *nusa*, where stands the *inau*-fence of Nusa-koro Kamui. Standing before the fence he dips the libation wand in the beer and drops the first libation on the tall *inau* with curled and twisted shavings. Then, kneeling down, he does the same to the winged *inau* and the backward-shaven *inau*. Prayers to Kamui Fuchi, Chisei-koro Kamui, Nusa-koro Kamui and the dead are said kneeling or sitting, and libations are offered in the same position. To all other *kamui* prayers are said and libations offered standing.

After the libation to Nusa-koro Kamui, the elder, directing the point of the libation wand towards him as messenger from Kamui Fuchi, and, as usual, gently stroking the cup[1] with his right hand, gives the name of the householder and begins his prayer. He addresses the deity as Nusa-koro Kamui and also as Kamui Ekashi, *ekashi* here meaning ancestor. The same title is given to Kinashut Kamui, the snake deity, and in the prayer Shiramba Kamui is said to be related (*iriwak*) to Kinashut Kamui and to have bestowed the new house in the 'bosom' of which Kamui Fuchi dwells.

The elder than takes a sip of the beer and gives a few drops to his headband and his sword for protection against evil spirits. A young man comes out of the door bringing a cup of lees, some of which the elder sprinkles with his libation wand on the small-winged *inau*. He then says a second prayer, which includes a salutation to the *kamui* in general, and in particular to the spider goddess

lighting the sacred window, although in his village, Mokoto in Kitami Province, the sacred window is no longer specially oriented to the east.—N.G.M.

[1] I noticed an elder blowing on his cup; the explanation given was that it was to blow away evil influences. Should anyone sneeze on the cup, the beer must be thrown away and a clean cup brought for the libation.—N.G.M.

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Kamui Moire Mat. He takes the lees in his hand and throws some at the foot of the *inau* fence, some to the north of it and some to the south. The Ekashi now returns to the head of the hearth, coming by the north wall as he went out. He replaces the cup on the tray, makes salutation to Kamui Fuchi and tells her that he has obeyed her behest, and then removes his sword and retires to his place.

While this has been going on the animal heads regarded as spirit protectors have been put on trays and placed near the top of the hearth. The householder gives each two or three drops of lees from the bottom of his cup. It is not merely those which guarded the beer during fermentation that are entitled to this treat, but all others that may be in the house. This libation from Kamui Fuchi's cup is accompanied by a short statement that it is for her, so will she please continue to guard the treasures and other property against evil.

The householder also gives a few drops of beer to the lower end of the hearth, with a brief address to Uari Kamui, and performs the same rite for the Apa-san Kamui. After the appointed elders have performed the main services any guest who chooses may give a libation either to Chisei-koro Kamui or to one of the *kamui* at the *inau* fence. Such spontaneous worship should be short and unostentatious, and should be performed before the special service for the dead. Up to that time the utmost decorum prevails —or ought to. Laughter and jocular remarks are bad form, and I am told that until the spirits of the dead ancestors are properly served the proceedings are serious, even solemn.

In a sense every service to the *kamui* (*Kamui Nomi*) was a service to 'All Souls', and levity would be unseemly while the revered and potent spirits of the Ancestral Host, and of the world around, were awaiting their meed of oblation and praise. Irreverence would slight the *kamui* and invite punishment.

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We have seen that the male guests steal into the room in a slow and diffident manner; the women steal in still more quietly and humbly, and take their places shown on the plan. They do not drink their small allowance of beer from cups which have been used in service to the *kamui*, and, with the exception of the Falling Tears ceremony, take no part in religious observance. They should keep silent till the ceremony ends and the festivities begin. They show reverence (*oripak*) by wearing the headdress or a black scarf, and should never attend worship of the *kamui* unless wearing the

[292]
[789]

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secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

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Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekguru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

342 527 782 273 [769] [796] [115]

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs[1] on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

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[1] This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M. [177]

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from that which follows the worship of the other gods and the ceremony of Falling Tears.

A sacred tradition runs—'*Anomi kamui inne, vakka uko kiyanne, uko iresu*, Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui, Chisei-koro Kamui *ne ruwe ne*', which means—'However numerous the worshipped *kamui*, together most capable, together most sustaining [maintaining] are those three.' There is no doubt that they form a group bound together not only by co-related ritual but by their intimate association in safeguarding the house and promoting the welfare of its inmates.

Offerings of beer are made and prayers said to all the *kamui* who have *nusa* along the *inau* fence. The purport of all the prayers is similar—for safety, offspring, health and good fortune—and before each prayer the recipient is addressed by flattering titles. Each rite ends with the throwing of a handful of lees as a sop to any evil spirits who may be hanging round. In the offerings to Hash-inau-uk Kamui the winged variety of libation wand is used, and this wand is not taken back through the sacred window but is tied to a strand of the embodied *inau*.[1] Some beer is left in the cup after she has had her drop and the elder his swig. An ordinary libation wand is substituted for the winged one, and young men may take a sip. This is for luck or for help from the *kamui* when hunting. Prayer is made to Wakka-ush Kamui under his name of Pet-orun Kamui, and to his female counterpart Nai-orun Kamui. The offering to the latter is not made at the *inau* fence of Wakka-ush Kamui, but at a special *nusa* of four small-winged *inau* and one *inau* with a body and twisted shavings which is set up near water. Should the water be at a distance the rite is performed by a younger man. It must be performed before the full ritual salutations are given and the Falling Tears ceremony performed. In the Nibutani district five *kamui* receive beer and one twisted shaven *inau* each before the ritual salutation, and here and elsewhere special worship is given to the eagle-owl, which receives a twisted shaven *inau*, libations and prayers at the fence of plenteous *inau* (text fig. 1, D).

A purely local *kamui*, known as the Kamui of Nai-oput (a neighbouring valley) is interesting because he is said to be the spirit ruler of Imosh Kamui (Pl. VII, fig. 7). He also receives offerings

[1] A similar one is used in the ceremony for Metot-ush Kamui in the ritual dismissal of the Bear.—N.G.M.

7:Munro & Seligman D. E-4. 5 (ca. 1900-1942) 1963
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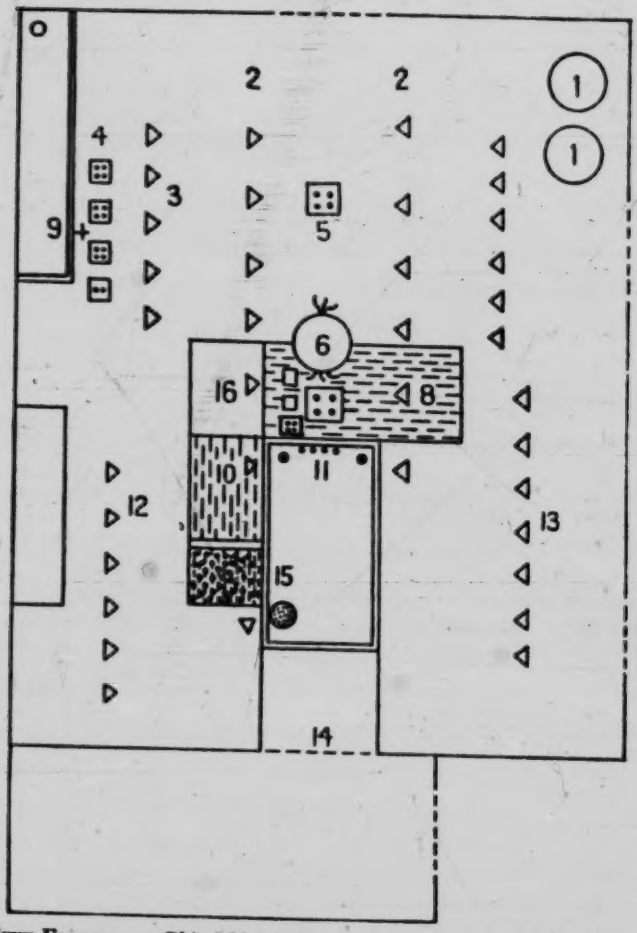

TEXT FIGURE 4.—*Chisei Nomi*: Preparation for the *Shinurapa Iwai* (Feast of All Souls, or Falling Tears).

2. Arrangement of *U-eshopki*—mutual sitting 'above the *inau-so*' (mat).
4. Food set apart from 15 for the *shinurapa* offering.
8. Honoured guest.
Other numbers the same as fig. 3, p. 77.
The cross at the top left, near 9, indicates the position of *chisei-koro inau* after its removal from its former position near the hearth.
15. Food placed at lower hearth as an offering to Kamui Fuchi and the ancestral host; it is also supposed to derive good influence from proximity to the gods.
16. Food removed from 15 to the head of the hearth for the common meal.